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854 As soon as the mother is allowed to attend to her ordinary duties, 431 her first concern is to take her child and visit her relatives, her own 796 as well as those of her husband. These are then obliged by custom to give the little one a small bracelet, which consists in a string of beads and is called *battá-*. In each house that is entered for that purpose, one such *battá-* is placed over the wrist of the babe. Besides, the relatives who live in the same settlement with the parents of the child, have to perform the *maxaníto* ceremony (communication with the spirits), at which a chicken is offered by the shaman, before the arrival of mother and child. This *maxaníto*, however, is dispensed with in the case of people who live in different agglomerations.

853 The mother (*magtaxíbi*) gives her child (*taxíbi*) the breast (*magpasóso*; in Iloko, *sóso* means "breast"; in Isneg "breast" is *xátat*) at every turn, and the little one has always its mother's milk at its disposition. No sooner does the baby cry than this is done, since, for an Isneg, the only plausible explanation is that it is hungry As a rule, a child suckles its mother's breasts as long as it has not cut its first tooth, but even then you cannot call it really weaned: a little youngster running around freely may sometimes be seen partaking [262] of the same food as his newborn brother or sister. On the other hand the little babe is given cooked rice to eat very early, usually after five days; however, as a matter of course, this solid food has been chewed by the complacent parent before it is put into the infant's mouth.

854 The baby when at rest is lying down either stretched out on a mat or a piece of cloth on the floor, or more frequently in a *dóyān*, which is a rectangular piece of cloth doubled up lengthwise so as to form a kind of pouch, each end of which is suspended from some part of the house, like a hammock, by means of two strings or strips of rattan, so that it can be used as a swing.

854 If Isneg parents have to leave a little child alone in the house, 776 they usually confide it to the care of *Daraxodáń*, a kind spirit, who is always at hand in such a predicament: he looks after the babe, without its elders knowing anything about it, and the little one never cries as long as he remains with it. Another spirit, *Laglagṭmiń*, who has the shape of a bird, is supposed to bring up any babies who are not well cared for by their parents; but although such children do not [753 die while *Laglagṭmiń* looks after them, they always remain thin and 856] emaciated, which, of course, the Isneg do not consider as an ideal condition for an infant.

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want to do a favor to an Ibanag, you are allowed to do so of course; but in this you are entirely free. What right might he possibly have to it? Is he not an outsider?"

Judges all over the Mountain Province could cite hundreds of examples of how little the natives can be relied upon to tell the truth, whenever there is question of one of their own. Once a Kankanay (and the case would be as typical here in Apayaw as it was there), a good friend of mine, asked me to lend him a peso: he would go to the neighboring town for me and carry whatever I wanted, paying his debt in that way. As I had heard his testimony only a few days before in the court of first instance, where he had told the brazenest lies without flinching, in order to save one of his townsmen, I told him that I little relied on his promises, because I had heard how nicely he had told the truth some days before. At once he retorted: "Oh, yes, but that was in court; I should never lie to *you* though".

It has often been said that a native of this province would let you die rather than help you when you are in difficulties, unless he is compelled to do so; and I know of many instances that would go to support the truth of that statement, but as far as I know, he acts that way only toward other people, not toward his own. Many years ago a Christian Visayan was dying in a town almost exclusively inhabited by Kankanay; he could easily have been saved by being brought to a neighboring hospital, but no people were found who were willing to carry the poor man. If no compulsion had been used in order to force them to bring him to the doctor, they would have let him die without mercy. Nevertheless one should not lose sight of the fact that in this case the means necessary for the recovery of the sick man were quite extraordinary and had perhaps never been heard of, or at least were not believed to be efficient by any ordinary Kankanay, so that it may be doubted if they always would render such a service even to one of their own people. As far as I know the Isneg, such an occurrence would be attended by the same circumstances among them too.

"A man should be grateful for a service done to him. After all this is only a case of loyalty to friends. If somebody has helped you out when you were in difficulties, do not forget it, but do him a good turn at the first opportunity. Never omit repaying anybody who may have done good to you. Whenever the people bring you gifts according to custom, be sure to notice the amount given by each person, and remember it, so that you may give him something equal

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577 on a similar occasion. Gifts as such do not exist, a gift is something
431 akin to a loan: what is given to-day should be returned some future day. Nevertheless there is a difference which you will understand presently. If a person is ungrateful to you and, instead of showing his appreciation of your help, repays you with ingratitude and does what is harmful to you, this may be a sufficient reason for revenging yourself, but do not remind him of your past kindness toward him: this would not only be very disagreeable to him, but it might give him a pretext for thinking himself in the right when he is quarreling with you. If you remind somebody of his debt of gratitude toward you, you make him ashamed and so exasperate him; he knows it all right or should know it anyhow; it is not for you to tell him about it. Do not say that in such a case you are simply doing what any creditor does, when he asks for the payment of a debt; no, this is quite different: to the return of what you lent, you have full right; but to gratitude, none. You helped him freely; let him remember his duty about it without the need of being told. Among us a loan is supposed to be asked back; nobody borrows anything without the tacit agreement that he will be requested to return it at some future time; this cannot be compared with the question of helping somebody in need
577 and reminding him of the fact afterwards. Gratitude is never obli-
609 gatory toward the Ibanag, especially toward those in authority. Is it not rather the reverse that is true? Is it not rather for them to be thankful to us for allowing them to rule us undisturbed? Is it not rather the Ibanag who have to be grateful to us for accepting their ministrations?"

602 A native Isneg has recently been appointed teacher in an agglomer-
577 ation belonging to the municipal district of Kabugaw. He rarely has anything out of his monthly salary left for himself, as the bulk of it goes to his relatives, helping them in their studies, paying their taxes, etc. The reason is that he wants to repay them now for the sacrifices they imposed upon themselves when he needed money while at school. And such cases are far from rare.

609 On the other hand, while I was living among the Kankanay, at a
577 place where no sanitary inspectors were residing and where the Gov-
[276] ernment furnished me with medicines for free distribution among the natives, more than once after I had bandaged a poor fellow's arm or else had poured medicine on some wound or sore, the patient would simply ask me for a few leaves of tobacco. Gratitude? Well, this had to be on my side, because the poor fellow showed his belief

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in the power of my drugs instead of following exclusively his own superstitions. At least I inferred from his conduct that this was his state of mind; and I believe I was not far from the truth. Similar cases are frequent also among the Isneg: doctors and sanitary inspectors know all too well about them.

"Be generous toward your friends. A miser is abhorred among us. If you bring down a wild boar or deer in the forest, share your good luck with your relatives and friends. These things were not worked for by you; fate brought them into your hands. If you have tobacco, share it with your friends; be a generous companion to every Isneg. When you offer a sacrifice be not stingy with the *bási*, and give everybody who happens to come along his share of rice and viands. Would you be happy if somebody prevented you from participating in a feast? Would you like to be excluded at the distribution of food and drink? Never cause your companions to say that you *umaxáwa* (or *iaxáwa*, "to put away dainties when a visitor is seen approaching the house, lest one should have to let him have a share in them") or *gumisád* (to close the doors at the appearance of a stranger while eating some delicious food for the same reason): these are very opprobrious terms. With reference to the Ibanag, remember that those in authority have come here to help us, and more especially the white man: he has unbounded riches, and he has come here for the evident purpose of spending it upon us. Even though some of us are considered rich among ourselves, they are poor when compared with him. Let him pay double the price for whatever he needs. Is he not rich beyond anything you can imagine? Do not exclude him from your feasts, if he wants to participate in them, but expect him to be generous toward you in all transactions and business affairs."

Kadáw, who is considered the richest man in Apayaw, has come to my house more than once in order to sell articles which he could not get rid of elsewhere, and he usually charged us twice the regular price. When we told him that he is a rich man, which by the way he likes to hear very much, and that he at least should remember how we feed many of his people without remuneration, when we told him that he should help us in order to be merciful to the poor Isneg instead of taking advantage of our good will, he invariably retorted by saying that we have money galore, and what should we do with it except distribute it to the Isneg. Is this not the reason why we live among them? And *Kadáw* is not the only Isneg who entertains such an opinion.

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her consent would be utter recklessness or, rather, out of the question: you would never escape unscathed from the place of your crime. For the rest be careful; even if the girl consents, always remember what pregnancy brings in its wake; so the surest way is to keep oneself free from such entanglements.

"Girls should never be very familiar with young men. Boys will tempt you with fine words and beautiful promises, they will bring you clothes and trinkets as gifts, but beware. Never give yourself over to any boy at night, never allow him to touch you indecently when he comes to talk to you in the evening. Do not even allow him to finger your breasts: all this is dangerous play. Just think what it would mean to have a child before marriage; would that not be an eternal shame? And just imagine the scolding you would get from your parents, the turmoil in which the whole settlement would be thrown, and the difficulty you would encounter from now on in looking for a husband. You are allowed to marry young, so let everything take its usual course. Boys will aways be boys; besides they are men, and so they are allowed a certain freedom; but you are a girl, you are a woman, and in your case nothing is allowed. An Isneg girl should never be a flirt. The boys will try to play with you; it is not for you to allow them to do so. Always show your resentment, when they have touched you the wrong way or been otherwise too familiar with you"

To touch a girl's breasts is *magkabbál* in Isneg, and it is said only of men. The existence of a special term like that serves to show that this must be something like a favorite sport among the Isneg. The following anecdote will help to prove the truth of that statement. On a certain occasion an Isneg boy was explaining to me a native term whose meaning was "purpose, intention", and as he could hardly do so without illustrating it by an example, he told me what follows: "Suppose you touch a girl's breasts and she is angry at you, then you say: 'I did not do it intentionally' ", and here he used the term in question.

Chastity is certainly very strictly imposed upon unmarried people, or rather upon people who are not yet engaged, but from the Isneg point of view and with reference to young men, it should rather be defined: not to do anything that might render a girl pregnant. Not that the Isneg know any contraceptive measures, but that the pregnancy of a girl is considered as the thing to be avoided, not fornication as such. Both are very nearly related to one another of

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628 is rarely abandoned, whether in small matters among youngsters, or
183 in graver matters among adults; but in the latter case nowadays it
178 mostly takes the form of a lawsuit entered at court. One exception, however is to be noticed: the practice of sacking the houses of special offenders is still faithfully adhered to all over Apayaw. Revenge is exceedingly sweet to an Isneg and it is not easily superseded by the law of charity: indeed the Isneg sucks it in with his mother's milk and his whole life is still intimately pervaded by the fragrance of old and glorious traditions. And so also the Isneg in general, whether small children or grown-up persons, rarely abandon a quarrel in which the right is on their side, for fear of having the epithet of coward thrown at their head. Peace continues to be an unknown entity as long as an Isneg thinks it his duty to leave it in the background.

578 Nevertheless when two Isneg have become estranged from one an-
183 other, one or both of them will occasionally try to adjust the matter amicably, but in such a way as to preclude all possible risk of being shamed or of being considered as acting through fear or cowardice. *Anagalukkáp* (a kind of herb or grass), kept in the palm of one of your hands when you are likely to meet your opponent, is an infallible means to allay his wrath and to change his hate into amity. Once reconciled to your enemy, the best way to settle the matter definitively and to render the ensuing friendship durable is to make him some present: a jar, a headax, or anything you suppose will prove acceptable to him. Such a gift is called *palatád*.

[431]

577 The practice of gratitude, generosity and hospitality is generally
576 fairly concordant with Isneg theory, but, as has been stated repeat-
574 edly, the Isneg code does not seem to impose any of these social
183 virtues in a very marked degree. It is very hard, for instance, to translate the expression "thank you" in Isneg, as they possess no term that might be considered as more or less its equivalent.

183 Here I shall cite a case in which at first sight practice flagrantly
574 contradicts Isneg theory in every respect. The incident happened
577 in March 1927, when a captain of the Constabulary, several soldiers and a few civilians, including myself, were on their way to Abra. We had finished ascending the Dagara river and were dropping into Abra, when night overtook us at the settlement of Anayan. Foreseeing that our provisions would not last until the end of the journey, the captain requested the Anayan men, who entirely depend on Apayaw for their daily sustenance, to sell us a small quantity of

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584
Iwaxán: a spirit who formerly was a man, assiduous in courting 832
the girls and very clever in causing the latter to allow him to per- 776
form coitus with them. If the boy who goes to court the girls happens to have a small bottle of coconut oil on his person, which is quite customary, *Iwaxán* sometimes enters the bottle, so that the girl may smell the fragrance he emits and fall in love with the boy.

5. The wearing of beads. The most powerful in this line are the 584
buláwan, round beads, varying much in size, of the color of silver, 832
and possessing a kind of silky lustre. They appear in strings that are 301
worn as necklaces or as ornaments around the headband. Although they prove very attractive to the girl when worn by the boy who comes to court her, these beads are not the exclusive property of the male sex: both men and women make use of them for ornamental purposes.

6. The giving of presents, as rings, trinkets, clothes, and so on. 584
Isneg young men of marriageable age very often carry their articles 832
for chewing betel nut in a pouch (*kĕláy*), a rather large and gener- 431
ally multicolored handkerchief, hanging from the neck and dangling on the chest; two ends are knotted immediately over the contents 293
with a large double knot, the other two are joined at the top and reach the neck of the wearer. All along both sides, from the recep- 276
tacle up to about half-way between the latter and the neck, a series of rings (*sańkilát*) covers the cloth. The girl takes betel nut, etc., 415
out of the pouch, and both, boy and girl, occasionally interchange rings, the boy detaching one of his own from his *kĕláy* to give it to 531
the girl, and the latter adding one of her rings to those of the boy's *kĕláy*. Such an interchange of rings, however, is not always necessarily a sign of consent on the part of the girl to the advances of the boy: this in modification of a statement made by me in a previous paper (CAC–P, 1:226).

Incidentally it should be noted here that lovers' gifts are never 584
returned, even though no further steps be taken or though some 431
obstacle come in the way of the realization of the young people's dreams; such gifts always remain the property of the donee.

7. The use of love charms (*mańimud*) to force the girl to think of 584
him. This item is so exceedingly important that I feel obliged to 832
devote a few paragraphs to the same.

Love charms are used exclusively and very often, if not universally, 832
by young men, never by girls. They usually consist of some herbs

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585 allowed to mount the ladder, either by herself or on the back of the *mañlakkát*.

Once inside she has to go immediately toward the place where a *balandán* blanket, the property of the boy's parents, has been spread on the floor, and to sit down upon it. The *balandán* consists of three rectangular pieces of cloth, sewn together at the sides, not at the edges; the two sutures are provided with large ornamental stitches of purple thread. The bride, however, is not to stay there very long, as she has barely squatted down on the *balandán* when her mother pulls it away from under her, and takes possession of the same. Here also the *mañlakkát* dons her customary attire, — jacket, headband and the rest, — as her rôle is finished by this time.

The parents of the boy usually prepare a banquet for all present; chickens or pigs and dogs are slaughtered, according to the social standing of the owners of the house, but, as previously noted, no shaman performs the *maxanito*. Should the *bálat* be killed on this occasion, which is not absolutely necessary, as the boy's parents may prefer to keep it alive, neither bride nor groom, nor any of the girl's relatives, is allowed to partake of it. If any of them should infringe this taboo and eat the meat of the *bálat* pig, his or her children, whether born already or to be born in the future, would die a certain death. The same prohibition obtains with reference to the cakes. It is certainly a great sacrifice for an Isneg not to partake of a meal of pork and rice, and only the fear of some dire punishment such as that of death for his children could effectively check his appetite in that direction. But in nearly all cases the boy's parents slaughter some other animal, of which all present are allowed to partake. It goes without saying that a copious flow of *básí* keeps the whole company in merriment, otherwise you could not very well call it a marriage feast.

The principal ceremony, however, consists in the distribution of gifts, of which there are two classes:

1. The *ákit* (from which the whole marriage ceremony takes its name, *mañakit:* to perform a marriage ceremony): these are gifts of beads, clothes, etc., offered by the boy's relatives and outsiders to the women of the girl's party in exchange for a certain amount of cakes, or some part of the *bálat*, in case the latter is slaughtered.

2. The *tugnúl:* gifts of spears, headaxes, *xúsi* jars, etc., also offered by the boy's relatives and outsiders, but this time to the men of the girl's party, again in exchange for cakes or portions of the *bálat*.

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Accurate notice is always taken of all the items given, their nature and their value, and also of the person who gives each object. On a similar occasion in the future, the donor will be repaid according to his own generosity or closefistedness. An Isneg is a very practical man: a gift as such is barely known to him; "it is better to give than to receive", is not understood by him at all. To an Isneg "to give" always includes the notion of "with the hope of getting back something at least equal in value".

Those of the guests who proffer neither *ákit* nor *tugnúl* are not allowed to partake either of the sweets or of the *bálat* (which is said to be sold); but they can eat any other food that is prepared for this occasion.

And then comes the presentation of the *tádug* or price agreed upon at the *amómăn*. The *tádug*, which is paid by the boy's parents and becomes the exclusive property of the girl's parents, may be given entirely at this juncture, but it very often happens that only a partial payment is made at this time, and that the rest is paid later, either all at once or in instalments. The latter course very often gives rise to vehement quarrels, as the groom's parents are bent on protracting the payment as long as possible, while those of the bride are anxious to settle the matter without delay.

And all the time bride and groom remain almost completely excluded from all participation in these ceremonies. They do not receive even the smallest present on this occasion, and as far as *ákit*, *tugnúl* and *tádug* are concerned, they are mere lookers-on.

All this goes to show that a girl in the family is a precious asset to the Isneg. Besides the *tádug*, the exclusive property of her parents, there are all the objects that go to her relatives at the time of the *ákit;* and all this in exchange for a pig, the *bálat*, and a certain amount of cakes. All that the relatives of the boy get out of it is partaking of a feast a couple of times, at the *amómăn* and at the *ákit*, and eating a few cakes, which after all are not so very highly esteemed. But they will have their revenge in time, of course, as they also have marriageable girls among their relatives. And so, everything considered, nobody is the loser, and certainly not the young couple: although they have received no gifts, their share of the inheritance is handed to them at this time by their respective parents, and then they have one another. Happiness, I dare believe, is very real on both sides, except perhaps in a few instances where one of them or both married merely to comply with the wishes of their elders. But

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head. In February 1929, a man from Aputan had come home from a distant town to find his wife dead and buried. One day, when I was visiting the place, a few days afterwards, I saw him come back from his work some time before noon, and walk toward the cemetery, which was situated at a little distance from the settlement. While on his way, he wept and lamented in a loud voice. After he had reached the tomb of his wife, I could still distinctly hear him lamenting and crying intermittently for about half an hour. The neighbors told me that this had been repeated every day since he came back home and that the same scene would probably be enacted in the same way for several days to come.

And so we reach the close of this most important period, namely the *obóbāt* ceremony which ends mourning once for all. Indeed after the *obóbāt* all taboos cease, *lapát* (tabooed) coconuts have been freed (*inúkas*), all signs of mourning are gone, and if some of the relatives are not yet prepared to forget the deceased, they merely resort to *magló* in order to continue to show their undying love.

During the *obóbāt*, pigs are usually offered in sacrifice, while the *maxanito* is performed by the shamaness, who at the time is supposed to be obsessed by the spirit or *kadudawd* of the deceased. The deceased, through her mouth, generally voices all his grievances against the living, whether they be present or absent, and insists on all his dues being rendered him. Nevertheless, if no pigs are killed and a dog is the only animal to be offered in sacrifice, no *maxanito* takes place.

About the middle of the ceremony, after the killing of the dog, either before or after eating, the mourners proceed to change their apparel, they *magba-bát*. If the deceased was a married person, it is the duty of one of the male relatives, either of the husband or of the wife (no matter which of the two departed this life), to give new clothes and a string of beads to the surviving widow or widower. As soon as the said male relative (*mama-bát*) has handed the new clothes to the survivor, the latter leaves the group and goes into some corner of the house in order to change his or her apparel, which action is always accompanied by a fresh outburst of grief and loud lamentations on his or her part. After the brand-new garments have been donned, he or she again joins the company, and is adorned by the *mama-bát* in person with the string of beads he has brought for the purpose.

000 in these jars, together with the beads. The jars are
523 valued up to ₱200 and bead up to ₱150 each. They
[436] are usually inherited in the family as marriage dow-
[431] ries; but may be received as indemnity for injuries.
[425] Sometimes labels, in the ancient script, are chiseled
[583] on these jars. According to authorities, when the
[680] people came here, they had a high culture and read
212 and wrote fluently in the script; but this culture grad-
178 ually lessened from disuse until now there are only
523 a few treasured ancient manuscripts remaining.

415 One type of basket is used. The lip is circuar-
285 formed on rattan. The bottom is drawn out to four corners on which is secured a rattan base. Both wicker and twilled basket weaves are used, and the best ones are ornamented with colored lines and conventional designs. These baskets are woven in different sizes to fit various needs; so that a good housewife has a whole set of them which will nest together There are also some especially shaped baskets for particular uses.

415 At meal time the cooked rice is ladled out on new
264 banana leaves placed on the floor, and the other food may be placed in polished, half-coconut shells. These are also used as water cups, finger bowls, and general containers. The family squat around and help themselves to the food. Their fingers are washed and, being more convenient, are used in place of forks.

262 The rice has a pinkish hue, is sticky, has a good flavor, and is the basic food of the people. With this may be eaten portions of the flesh of fish, shrimp, snails, crabs, crocodiles, lizards, frogs, ants, chickens, 000 birds, or deer. The vegetables may be: tomatoes, egg-

1 [ancient Chinese -- ANALYST] 8